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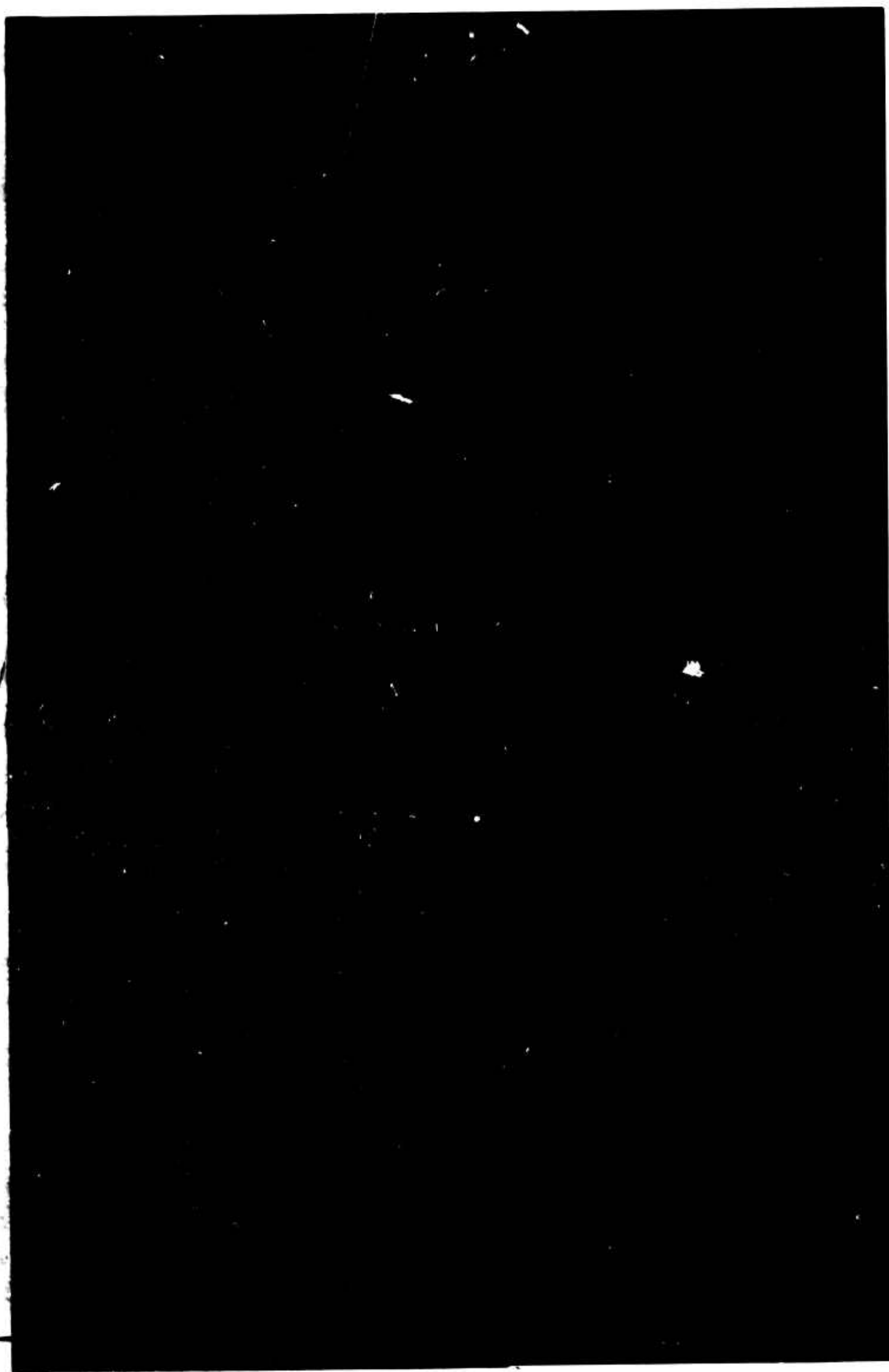
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U. S. AIR FORCE
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SOVIET COMMENTARY ON THE DOCTRINE OF
LIMITED NUCLEAR WARS ✓

Translated from the Russian by
Leon Gouré

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Note

The following is a translation of an article, entitled "The Smoke Screen of the American Imperialists", by Colonel V. Mochalov and Major V. Dashichev, which was published in Red Star, on December 17, 1957.

The American press has reported recently that an intensive discussion was taking place in governmental circles in Washington about the so-called theory of "small" [malitia] nuclear wars. The political and military leaders of the United States, who are worried that their concept of "massive atomic retaliation" was politically compromised, have recourse to this new theory in order to anesthetize the watchfulness of the people, to facilitate the launching of a world war and to drag into it other capitalist countries. As is known, the American strategy of retaliation at whose foundation lies atomic blackmail, provides, in the case of even minor military conflicts, for the delivery of "massive blows", primarily with nuclear weapons. In accordance with this, the armed forces of the United States are preparing to conduct total atomic war against the countries of the socialist camp.

According to the bourgeois press this concept has collapsed in the course of the "cold war" against the Soviet Union, and the peoples democracies, for it could not halt the growth of national-liberation movements in Asia and Africa, and has resulted in a serious loss to the political and moral prestige of the United States, causing, as The New York Times wrote, "a considerable part of world public opinion" to turn against the United States.

This is why the imperialist ideologists concern themselves with the development of the theory of "small" wars,

which is intended to complement the imperialist aggressive military doctrine.

[Dulles propagandised the theory of "small wars" in the United Nations and in an article in Foreign Affairs. General Norstad spoke of it at the "present" session of NATO in which the concept of "small wars" became an integral part of the NATO strategy].

Special books are devoted to the theory of "small" wars; for example R. Osgood Limited War, G. Kissinger Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy and others.

Why are the American politicians and military theoreticians devoting, at the present time, so much attention to this question?

First of all because the adventuristic expectations of the American imperialists of achieving world domination by means of launching a total nuclear war received decreasing support from their allies. Many bourgeois military leaders, not without cause, believe that in case of such a war the aggressors will be subjected to annihilatory retaliatory blows, and by means of weapons which the West does not possess.

According to the views of the American press, under present-day conditions, when the Soviet Union gives clear evidence of its superiority over the United States in a whole series of important scientific and technical areas, any recourse to a strategy of "massive retaliation" will be tantamount to suicide for the capitalist West.

The essence of the arguments of the apologists for the new reactionary theory of the American and English imperialists lies in the assumption that they can carry out their aggressive plans by means of conducting wars with small forces, in limited areas and using not strategic but tactical nuclear weapons.

They expect to conduct "small" wars with all types of weapons and armed forces. For this purpose it is proposed to have in a state of readiness regular divisions as well as an air force and missiles like the "Honest John", "little John", "Corporal" and others. If the theater of operations allows, warships of various types, up to and including aircraft carriers of the "Forrestal" class will be added to these forces. It is believed to be extremely important not to declare general mobilization, in order not to disrupt the normal pattern of existence in the aggressor countries. Particular attention is paid to the latter question, since the imperialists fear public indignation resulting from such social upheavals. "History shows" writer Kissinger, "that suffering at a time when the cup floweth over inevitably must lead to political or social changes.... Excessive suffering can lead to an undermining of the social system."

For "small" wars, Kissinger proposes to develop a special tactic, at the basis of which should be operations by small, highly trained units, equipped with nuclear weapons which are supported in the battle zone primarily by air transport. In the ideal form the units and formations, which in their mobility

approach that of the aviator, must be capable of forcing the enemy either to concentrate his forces and thus make them a target for atomic blows, or disperse them to such an extent that they will be unable to achieve domination over the battle field. In the opinion of Kissinger the rapid deployment of forces will be of decisive significance in a "small" war.

The ground forces which are to be used in the conduct of "small" wars must be capable of rapid movement to any point where they are needed, in order to conduct military operations in different areas without the support of large formations. The transfer of armaments, troops and materiel is to be assured by the aviation.

Such forces are charged with the task of using atomic weapons for tactical purposes in combat and at the same time must be ready to fight without the support of atomic weapons.

The course of the war is portrayed by the American strategists as follows: the political leaders determine the area which should be seized. Following this a surprise landing by air or by sea, equipped with nuclear weapons, is made. The operations of the landing force are supported by the tactical aviation. It can also be done in such a way that at first the air force strikes at the enemy's airfields, his important military installations, road junctions, harbors, and follows this up with an air or seaborne landing. The foreign press notes that the army in a "small" war will not rely on the support of the strategic air force. It is assumed that in the

course of two to three weeks the operation will be concluded.

The primary objective of "small" wars, according to the imperialists, is the suppression of national liberation movements in colonial and dependent countries, the reestablishment of the colonial order in those Eastern countries which have taken the road to independence. Examples of such countries, according to their assertions are Egypt and Syria, upon which the United States is trying to foist the colonizing "Eisenhower Doctrine". In the suppression of rebellion and guerrilla movements in such countries like Oman, the use of atomic weapons is, according to the military ideologists of imperialism, undesirable from the political and military-economic view points.

What lies behind these reactionary theories of the imperialist ideologists? First of all it must be noted that the American reactionaries refuse to settle disputed international problems by peaceful means. By proclaiming the theory of "small" wars they attempt to find a way to launch a global atomic massacre.

Dulles, Kissinger and other ideologists of the "small" war hasten to reassure public opinion that for the destruction of tactical targets bombs of infinite, absolute destructive power will not be used. But they conceal the fact that the destruction inflicted by one 10KT bomb is considerably smaller than that which may be produced by the explosion of two 5KT bombs.

It is also proposed to delimit bombing targets according to their type and to determine which of these can and which cannot be bombarded with atomic weapons. In the opinion of some writers, it might be possible to prohibit the bombing by such means of all cities over a certain size, which do not contain military objectives of tactical importance. The authors of the pamphlet "On the Limitation of Atomic War" published in London, write that such delineations "will create real possibilities to force the communist countries to submit to any new rules on the conduct of atomic war devised by the West."

If one translates the diplomatic language of the gentlemen imperialists into everyday language it will become evident that they are not against massacring people, but that they are only massacring them by a new method. According to the American press, U.S. military specialists, in planning military operations in present-day war base themselves on the following calculations: one atomic bomb of medium calibre to a small city or a battalion deployed for battle. According to Dulles and Kissinger the same results with similar targets may be achieved by dropping two to three bombs of smaller calibre. In this fashion the essence of the matter remains unchanged. Killing remains killing, war -- war.

Now let us see if it is in fact true, as Dulles and Kissinger assert, that it is possible to limit present-day wars, in which weapons of mass destruction are employed, to a certain small area. This assertion also does not withstand

criticism. Even the name itself of "small" war represents a fiction, used to hide the thieving, looting character of imperialist wars. The bourgeois military theoreticians refuse to divide wars into just and unjust ones. This is simply too disadvantageous for them. If they admitted such a division, they would then inevitably realize the class character and origin of wars. But bourgeois theoreticians always avoid this question, labeling it "communist propaganda". And this is why they invent dozens of different formulations just in order to avoid dealing with the class character of war.

As is well known, the imperialists in the past also have launched "small" wars. But these wars were not equally small for the aggressors and for their victims. The armies of the colonial powers, as a rule have conducted wars on foreign territory. Armed to the teeth with all the newest weapons of war, which capitalism could devise, they mercilessly massacred the peoples of underdeveloped countries, destroying their cities and villiages. Unmasking the reactionary character of such wars, V. I. Lenin wrote:

"...Consider the history of those small wars which they (imperialists - Editor) waged before the great one, -- "small" because few Europeans died in them, while there perished hundreds of thousands of those peoples who were being oppressed, who from their point of view were not even considered to be nations (some sort of Asiatics or Africans -- what kind of nations are these?). With these nations they waged war in the following manner: they were disarmed while one massared them with machineguns. What sort of a war is this? This really is not even war, this one can forget about. This is how they attempt to deceive the popular masses." [Lenin

Collected Works. Vol. 24, p. 370].

But since then the nations have completely changed. A powerful national-liberation wave has swept over the earth, as a result of which the colonial system is falling apart. The attempts of the colonial powers to re-establish their former rule have and continue to suffer failure. Wherever the peoples unselfishly defend their independence, the usual types of armament of the imperialist armies have proven themselves insufficient to achieve victory in unjust, aggressive wars. This is convincingly demonstrated by the defeats inflicted upon the forces of the imperialist powers, by the peoples of Korea, Vietnam, and Egypt. And this is one of the reasons why the imperialists now argue the need for using atomic weapons not only in "big" but in "small" wars as well.

If nuclear weapons are present, any "small" war will inevitably grow into a "big" war. Today there exist large military alliances of states belonging to different social systems. The existent aggressive blocs such as the NATO, SEATO and the Baghdad Pact predetermine the size of possible military action. It is enough that any country, member of such a bloc, should initiate war, that on the strength of the obligations imposed by one or another treaty, it can bring other nations to participate in it. In this way an armed conflict can rapidly expand to quite dangerous size.

This is why, the imperialist theory of "small" atomic wars with which they hope to compliment the theory of "big

war" fall apart at the first contact with reality.

American grand-iloquence about "small" wars are in obvious contradiction to the material-technical basis -- the armament of modern armies. In view of the existence of such means of warfare as air forces, ICBMs and others, it is impossible to restrict a war to certain areas or borders. It is obvious that the mass employment of air force, guided missiles and nuclear weapons is characteristic only of large-scale action.

Kissinger argues that since the human and material resources of the socialist countries are so great, that the United States cannot "afford to match them", it is necessary to seek to achieve superiority in one "direction" [actually this means one major zone of operations or an area of major advance L.G.]. In a military sense such an assertion is absurd, because with present modern means of transportation one can bring to any area such forces as would immediately liquidate the aggressor's superiority in the "direction" chosen by him.

The inhuman theory of "small" war has caused indignation among the progressive world public opinion. Even in the bourgeois Western press there appeared many caustic articles sharply criticising it as a clumsy attempt to justify preparation for atomic war.

The Soviet government's note to the governments of the member states of the United Nations, as well as in the messages of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR,

N. A. Bulganin, to the heads of the NATO member countries have unmasked the aggressive preparation of the imperialists and their reactionary military doctrine.

In his note to the President of the United States, Eisenhower, N. A. Bulganin says:

"One of the arguments, offered by the military Western circles to justify their demands for the expansion of military preparation, is the so called theory of 'local wars'. It is necessary to stress most emphatically that this 'theory' is not only unsound from a military point of view, but that it is politically very dangerous. In the past, as is known, global wars began as 'local' wars. Can anyone seriously count on the possibility to 'localize' wars in our times, when there are in the world opposing military groups which comprise dozens of states in different parts of the world, while the action of present weapons has no geographic limits?"